JANUARY, 1788. THE NUMB. 3008.

PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1788.

(By the ship Nonpariel, Captain Cushing, which arrived at Boston, January 1 st, in 49 days from Lands-end, in England, we have received intelligence as late as the 12th November, which enables us to present our readers with the following articles.)

VERSAILLES, September 12.

THE Comte de Mouslier is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of North America.

ROTTERDAM, October 30.

Mr. Crawford, agent to this Britanic Majesty in this city, has done honor to the sentiments of his court, and manifested his attachment to the illustrious House of Orange, by celebrating the re-establishment of the Stadtholder in all his eminent dignities.

HAGUE, November 1.

His Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick, Lunenburg, set off last Tuesday after supper, for his headquarters near Amsterdam.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, October 30.

This morning a messenger arrived at the office of the Marquis of Carmarthen, with the following declaration, counter declaration, &c.

DECLARATION.

THE events which have taken place in the public of the United Provinces appearing no longer to leave any subject of discussion, and still less of contest, between the two courts, the undersigned are authorized to ask, whether it is the intention of his Most Christian Majesty to carry into effect the notification made on the 16th of September last, by his Most Christian Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, which by announcing that succours would be given to Holland, has occasioned the naval armaments on the part of his Majesty; which armaments have become reciprocal.

If the court of Versailles is disposed to explain itself on this subject, and upon the conduct to be adopted towards the republic in a manner conformable to the desire, which has been expressed on both sides, to preserve the good understanding between the two courts; and it being also understood, at the same time, that there is no view of hostility towards any quarter, in consequence of what had passed; his Majesty, always anxious to concur in the friendly sentiment of His Most Christian Majesty, would agree with him, that the armaments, and in general all warlike praparations should be discontinued on each side, and that the navies of the two nations should be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first of January of the present year.

Versailles, the 27th of October, 1787.

DORSET.

WILLIAM EDEN.

COUNTER DECLARATION.

THE intention of his Majesty not being, and never having been, to interfere by force, in the affairs of the republic of the United Provinces, the communication made to the court of London, on the 16th of last month, by Monsieur Barthelemy, having had no other object than to announce to that court, an intention, the motives of which no longer exist, especially since the King of Prussia has imparted his resolution; his Majesty makes no difficulty to declare, that he will not give any effect to the declaration abovementioned; and that he retains no hostile view towards any quarter relative to what has passed in Holland. His Majesty therefore, being desirous to concur with the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty for the preservation of the good harmony between the two Courts, agrees with pleasure with his Britannic Majesty, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, shall be discontinued on each side; and that the navies of the two nations shall be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first of January of the present year.

Versailles, the 27th of October, 1787.

Le Cte. de MONTMORIN.

¶ In consequence of the declaration and counter declaration, exchanged this day, the undersigned, in the name of their respective sovereigns, agree that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, shall be discontinued on each side; and that the navies of the two nations shall be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishments as it stood on the first day of January of the present year.

Versailles, the 27th of October, 1787.

DORSET.

WILLIAM EDEN.

Le Cte. de MONTMORIN.

STATE of CONNECTICUT, JANUARY 3d, 1788.

THE honorable Convention for this State met this day at the State House in the city of Hartford; and appointed his Excellency MATTHEW GRISWOLD, Esq. late Governor of this State, President, and JEDIDIAH STRONG, Esq. Secretary. After examining the certificates of the members, they adjourned to the North Meeting House, which had been previously fitted up with stoves for the purpose of accommodating the Convention. After some debate upon the most eligible method of entering upon the important subject on which they were convened, and of effecting a full discussion and thorough investigation of it; they resolved that the Constitution proposed by the late fœderal Convention should be read and discussed by sections; but that no vote should be taken on it, till the whole should be fully discussed.

January 4.

Mr. Ellsworth opened the Debates of the day, in a Speech, the substance of which is as follows.

Mr. President, it is observable, that there is no preface to the proposed constitution; but it evidently presupposes two things; one is the necessity of a fœderal government, the other is the inefficacy of the old articles of confederation. A union is necessary for the purposes of national defence. United we are strong, divided we are weak. It is eaty for hostile nations to sweep off a number of separate States one after another. Witness the States in the neighbourhood of ancient Rome. They were successively subdued by that ambitious city; which they might have conquered with the utmost ease, if they had been united. Witness the Canaanitish nations, whose divided situation rendered them an easy prey. Witness England, which, when divided into separate States, was twice conquered by an inferior force. Thus it always happens to small States, and to great ones, if divided. Or, if to avoid this, they connect themselves with some powerful State, their situation is not much better. This shows us the necessity of combining our whole force; and, as to national purposes, becoming one State.

A union, Sir, is likewise necessary, considered with relation to œconomy. Small States have enemies as well as great ones. They must provide for their defence. The expence of it, which would be moderate for a large kingdom, would be intolerable to a petty State. The Dutch are wealthy, but they are one of the smallest of the European nations, and their taxes are higher than any other country of Europe. Their taxes amount to forty shillings per head, when those of England do not exceed half that sum.

We must unite, in order to preserve peace among ourselves. If we are divided, what is to hinder wars from breaking out among the States? States, as well as individuals, are subject to ambition, to avarice, to those jarring passions which disturb the peace of society. What is to check these? If there is a parental hand over the whole, this, and nothing else, can restrain the unruly conduct of the members.

Union is necessary to preserve commutative justice between the States. If divided, what is to hinder the large States from oppressing the small? What is to defend us from the ambition and rapacity of New York, when she had spread over that vast territory, which she claims and holds? Do we not already see in her the seeds of an overbearing ambition? On our other side there is a large and powerful State. Have we not already begun to be tributaries? If we do not improve the present critical time, if we do not unite, shall we not be like Issachar of old, a strong ass crouching down between two burdens? New-Jersey and Delaware have seen this, and have adopted the constitution unanimously.

A more energetic system is necessary. The present is merely advisory. It has no coersive power. Without this, government is ineffectual, or rather is no government at all. But it is said, such a power is not necessary. States will not do us rong. They need only to be told their duty, and they will do it. I ask, Sir, what warrant is there for this assertion? Do not States do wrong? Whence come wars? One of two hostile nations must be in the wrong. But it is said among sister States, this can never be presumed. But do not we know, that when friends become enemies, their enmity is the most virulent? The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands were once confederated; they fought under the same banner. Antwerp, hard pressed by Philip, applied to the other states for relief. Holland, a rival in trade, opposed, and prevented the needed succours. Antwerpt was made a sacrifice. I wish I could say, there were no seeds of similar injustice springing up among us. Is there not in one of our States injustice too barefaced for eastern despotism? That State is small; it does little hurt to any but its self. But it has a spirit, which would make a tophet of the universe. But some will say, we formerly did well without any union. I answer, our situation is materially changed. While Great-Britain held her authority, she awed us. She appointed governors and councils for the American provinces. She had a negative upon our laws. But now, our circumstances are so altered, that there is no arguing what we shall be from what we have been.

It is said, that other confederacies have not had the principle of coercion. Is this so? Let us attend to those confederacies which have resembled our own. Sometime before Alexander, the Grecian States confederated together. The Amphyctionite council, consisting of Deputies from these States, met at Delphos; and had authority to regulate the general interests of Greece. This Council did enforce its decrees by coercion. The Boetians once infringed upon a decree of the Amphyctions. A heavy mulct was laid upon them. They refused to pay it. Upon that, their whole territory was confiscated. They were then glad to compound the matter. After the death of Alexander, the Achean League was formed. The decrees of this confederacy were enforced by dint of arms. The Ectolian league was formed by some other Grecian cities in opposition to the Achean; and there was no peace between them till they were conquered, and reduced to a Roman province. They were then all obliged to sit down in peace under the same yoke of despotism.

How is it with respect to the principle of coercion in the Germanic body? In Germany there are about three hundred principalities and republics; deputies from these meet annually in the general Diet to make regulations for the empire. But the execution of these is not left voluntarily with the members. The empire is divided into ten circles; over each of which a superintendant is appointed, with the rank of a major-general. It is his duty to execute the decrees of the empire with a military force.

The confederation of the Swiss Cantons has been considered as an example. But their circumstances are far different from ours. They are small republics, about twenty miles square, situated among the Alps, and inaccessible to hostile attacks. They have nothing to tempt an invasion. Till lately, they had neither commerce, nor manufactures. They were merely a set of herdsmen. Their inaccessibleness has availed them. Four hundred of those mountainers defeated 15,000 Austrians, who were marching to subdue them, They spend the ardour of youth in foreign service; they returned old, and disposed for tranquility! Between some of the Cantons and France, there has long subsisted a defensive treaty. By this treaty, France is to be a mediator to settle differences between the Cantons. If any one is obstinate, France is to compel a submission to reasonable terms.

The Dutch Republic is an example that merits attention. The form of their constitution, as it is on paper, admits not of coercion. But necessity has introduced it in practice. This coercive power is the influence of the stadtholder, an officer originally unknown to their constitution. But they have been necessiated to appoint him, in order to set their unwieldy machine of government in motion. He is commander in chief of their navy, and of their army consisting of 40, or 50 regiments. He appoints the officers of the land and naval forces. He resides in the states general, and in the states of every province; and by means of this, he has a great opportunity to influence the elections and decisions. The province of Holland have ever been opposed to the appointment of a stadtholder; because, by their wealth and power, being equal to all the other provinces, they possess the weight and influence of the stadtholder, when that office is vacant. Without such an influence, their machine of government would no more move, than a ship without wind, or a clock without weights.

But to come nearer home, Mr. President, have we not seen and felt the necessity of such a coercive power? What was the consequence of the want of it during the late war, particularly towards the close? A few states bore the burden of the war. While we, and one or two more of the states, were paying 80 or 100 dollars per man to recruit the continental army, the regiments of some states had scarely men enough to wait on their officers. Since the close of the war, some of the states have done nothing towards complying with the requisitions of Congress; others, who did something at first, seeing that they were left to bear the whole burden, have become equally remiss. What is the consequence? To what shifts have we been driven to the wretched expedient of negociating new loans in Europe to pay the interest of the foreign debt. And what is still worse, we have even been obliged to apply the new loans to the support of our own civil government at home.

Another ill consequence of this want of energy is that treaties are not performed. The treaty of peace with Great Britain was a very favourable one for us. But it did not happen perfectly to please some of the states; and they would not comply with it. The consequence is, Britain charges us with the breach, and refuses to deliver up the forts on our northern quarter.

Our being tributaries to our sister states is a consequence of the want of a fœderal system. The state of New-York raises 60 or 80,000l. a year by impost. Connecticut consumes about on third of the goods upon which this impost is laid; and consequently pays one third of this sum to New-York. If we import by the medium of Massachusetts, she has an impost, and to her we pay a tribute. If this is done, when we have the shadow of a national government, what shall we not suffer, when even that shadow is gone?

If we go on as we have done, what is to become of the foreign debts? Will foreign nations forgive us this debt, because we neglect to pay? or will they levy it by reprisals as the laws of nations authorize them? Will our weakness induce Spain to relinquish the exclusive navigation of the Missisippi, or the territory which she claims on the east side of that river? Will our weakness induce the British to give up the northern posts? If a war breaks out, and our situation invites our enemies to make war, how are we to defend ourselves? Has government the means to enlist a man, or buy an ox? or shall we rally the remainder of our old army? The European nations, I believe to be not friendly to us. They were pleased to see us disconnected from Great-Britain; they are pleased to see us disunited among ourselves. If we continue so, how easy it is for them to canton us out among them, as the did the Kingdom of Poland? But supposing this is not done, if we suffer the union to expire, the least that can be expected is that the European powers will form alliances, some with one State and some with another, and play the States off one against another, and that we shall be involved in all the labyrinths of European politics. But I do not wish to continue the painful recital: enough has been said to shew, that a power in general government to enforce the decrees of the union, is absolutely necessary.

The Constitution before us is a complete system of legislative, judicial, and executive power. It was designed to supply the defects of the former system; and I believe, upon a full discussion, it will be found calculated to answer the purposes for which it was designed.

Just published, and to be sold Wholesale or Retail, by HALL and SELLERS, at the New-Printing-Office, opposite the Jersey Market,

Poor Richard's Almanack,

For the Year 1788.

Chester county, December 26, 1787.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Monday, the 4th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the house of James Elitt, inn-keeper, at Newtown Square, A messuage or tenement, plantation and tract of land, situate in the township of East-town, containing 106 acres, bounded by lands now or late of Isaac Wayne, Robert Llewellin, Lewis Morris, Ellis Ellis, Thomas Tucker, and Bernard Vanleer; taken in execution as the estate of John Morris, deceased, and to be sold, by

¶ EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

TO BE SOLD,

By the subscribers, executors of the last will and testament of David Schaffer, senior, deceased,

A Certain Plantation and tract of land in Bensalem township, Bucks county, bordering on the river Delaware, about 14 miles from the city of Philadelphia, containing 160 acres of land, late the property of Joseph Galloway, and now in the tenure of David Germon. There is a good Frame Dwelling-house erected on the premises, with a well of water near the door. About 40 or 50 acres are already cleared and in good fence, a considerable proportion whereof is meadow ground, and more may be made at a moderate expence, so as to render it convenient for a grazier. The remainder is woodland, a part of which has excellent timber. There is also a valuable fishery belonging to the same. For further particulars apply to David Germon, on the premises, to the Widow Schaffer, or John Schaffer, in the city of Philadelphia. An indisputable title will be given, and the terms made easy by the subscribers,

CATHARINE SCHAFFER, Executrix,
CHRISTOPHER KUCHER, } Executors.
FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG, }

3m

From the NEW-YORK PACKET.

The FŒDERALIST, No. XII.

To the PEOPLE *of the State of* NEW-YORK.

THE effects of union upon the commercial prosperity of the states have been sufficiently delineated. Its tendency to promote the interests of revenue will be the subject of our present enquiry.

The prosperity of commerce is now perceived and acknowledged, by all enlightened statesmen, to be the most useful as well as the most productive source of national wealth; and has accordingly become a primary object of their political cares. By multiplying the means of gratification, by promoting the introduction and circulation of the precious metals, those darling objects of human avarice and enterprise, it serves to vivify and invigorate all the channels of industry, and to make them flow with greater activity and copiousness. The assiduous merchant, the laborious husbandman, the active mechanic and the industrious manufacturer, all orders of men look forward with eager expectation and growing alacrity to this pleasing reward of their toils. The often-agitated question, between agriculture and commerce, has from indubitable experience received a decision, which has silenced the rivalships that once subsisted between them, and has proved, to the entire satisfaction of their friends, that their interests are intimately blended and interwoven. It has been found, in various countries, that in proportion as commerce has flourished, land has risen in value. And how could it have happened otherwise? Could that which procures a freer vent for the products of the earth---which furnishes new incitements to the cultivators of land---which is the most powerful instrument in increasing the quantity of money in a state---could that, in fine, which is the faithful handmaid of labour and industry, in every shape, fail to augment the value of that article, which is the prolific parent of far the greatest part of the objects upon which they are exerted? It is astonishing that so simple a truth should ever have had an adversary; and it is one, among a multitude of proofs, how apt a spirit of ill informed jealousy or of too great abstraction and refinement is to lead men astray from the plainest paths of reason and conviction.

The ability of a country to pay taxes must always be proportioned, in a great degree, to the quantity of money in circulation and to the celerity with which it circulates. Commerce, contributing to both these objects, must of necessity render the payment of taxes easier, and facilitate the requisite supplies to the treasury. The hereditary dominions of the Emperor of Germany contain a great extent of fertile, cultivated and populous territory, a large proportion of which is situated in mild and luxuriant climates. In some parts of this territory are to be found the best gold and silver mines in Europe. And yet, from the want of the fostering influence of commerce, that monarch can boast but slender revenues. He has several times been compelled to owe obligations to the pecuniary succours of other nations, for the preservation of his essential interests; and is unable, upon the strength of his own resources, to sustain a long or continued war.

But it is not in this aspect of the subject alone that union will be seen to conduce to the purposes of revenue. There are other points of view, in which its influence will appear more immediate and decisive. It is evident from the state of the country, from the habits of the people, from the experience we have had on the point itself, that it is impracticable to raise any very considerable sums by direct taxation. Tax laws have in vain been multiplied---new methods to enforce the collection have in vain been tried---the public expectation has been uniformly disappointed, and the treasuries of the states have remained empty. The popular system of administration, inherent in the nature of popular government, coinciding with the real scarcity of money, incident to a languid and mutilated state of trade, has hitherto defeated every experiment for extensive collections, and has at length taught the different legislatures the folly of attempting them.

No person acquainted with what happens in other countries, will be surprised at this circumstance. In so opulent a nation as that of Britain, where direct taxes, from superior wealth, must be much more tolerable, and, from the vigor of the government, much more practicable, than in America, far the greatest part of the national revenue is derived from taxes of the indirect kind; from imposts and from excises. Duties on imported articles form a large branch of this latter description.

In America it is evident that we must a long time depend, for the means of revenue, chiefly on such duties. In most parts of it, excises must be confined within a narrow compass. The genius of the people will ill brook the inquisitive and peremptory spirit of excise laws. The pockets of the farmers, on the other hand, will reluctantly yield but scanty supplies in the unwelcome shape of impositions on their houses and lands. And personal property is too precarious and invisible a fund to be laid hold of in any other way, than by the imperceptible agency of taxes on consumption.

If these remarks have any foundation, that state of things, which will best enable us to improve and extend so valuable a resource, must be the best adapted to our political welfare. And it cannot admit of a serious doubt, that this state of things must rest on the basis of a general union. As far as this would be conducive to the interests of commerce, so far it must tend to the extension of the revenue to be drawn from that source. As far as it would contribute to rendering regulations for the collection of the duties more simple and efficacious, so far it must serve to answer the purposes of making the same rate of duties more productive, and of putting it in the power of the government to increase the rate, without prejudice to trade.

The relative situation of these states, the number of rivers with which they are intersected, and of bays that wash their shores, the facility of communication in every direction, the affinity of language and manners, the familiar habits of intercourse; all these are circumstances, that would conspire to render an illicit trade between them a matter of little difficulty, and would insure frequent evasions of the commercial regulations of each other. The separate states or confederacies would be necessitated by mutual jealousies to avoid the temptations to that kind of trade, by the lowness of their duties. The temper of our governments, for a long time to come, would not permit those rigorous precautions, by which the European nations guard the avenues into their respective countries, as well by land as by water; and which even there are found insufficient obstacles to the adventurous stratagems of avarice.

In France there is an army of patrols (as they are called) constantly employed, to secure their fiscal regulations against the inroads of the dealers in contraband trade. Mr. *Neckar* computes the number of these patrols at upwards of twenty thousand. This shews the immense difficulty in preventing that species of traffic, where there is an inland communication, and places in a strong light the disadvantages with which the collection of duties in this country would be encumbered, if by disunion the states should be placed in a situation, with respect to each other, resembling that of France with respect to her neighbours. The arbitrary and vexatious powers with which the patrols are necessarily armed would be intolerable in a free country.

If, on the contrary, there be but one government pervading all the states, there will be as to the principal part of our commerce but ONE SIDE to guard, the ATLANTIC COAST. Vessels arriving directly from foreign countries, laden with valuable cargoes, would rarely choose to hazard themselves to the complicated and critical perils, which would attend attempts to unlade prior to their coming into port. They would have to dread both the dangers of the coast, and of detection as well after as before their arrival at the places of their final destination. An ordinary degree of vigilance would be competent to the prevention of any material infractions upon the rights of the revenue. A few armed vessels, judiciously stationed at the entrances of our ports, might at a small expence be made useful centinels of the laws. And the government having the same interests to provide against violations every where, the co-operation of its measures in each state would have a powerful tendency to render them effectual. Here also we should preserve by union an advantage which nature holds out to us, and which would be relinquished by separation. The United States lie at a great distance from Europe, and at a considerble distance from all other places with which they would have extensive connections of foreign trade. The passage from them to us, in a few hours, or in a single night, as between the coasts of France and Britain, and of other neighbouring nations, would be impracticable. This is a prodigious security against a direct contraband with foreign countries; but a circuitous contraband to one state, through the medium of another, would be both easy and safe. The difference between a direct importation from abroad and an indirect importation, through the channel of a neighbouring state, in small parcels, according to time and opportunity, with the additional facilities of inland communication, must be palpable to every man of discernment.

It is therefore evident, that one national government would be able, at much less expence, to extend the duties on imports, beyond comparison, further than would be practicable to the states separately, or to any partial confederacy. Hitherto I believe it may be safely asserted, that these duties have not upon an average exceeded in any state three per cent. In France they are estimated to be about fifteen per cent. and in Britain they exceed this proportion.* There seems to be nothing to hinder their being increased in this country, to at least treble their present amount. The single article of ardent spirits, under Fœderal regulation, might be made to furnish a considerable revenue. Upon a ratio to the importation into this state, the whole quantity imported into the United States may be estimated at four millions of gallons; which at a shilling per gallon would produce two hundred thousand pounds. That article would well bear this rate of duty; and if it should tend to diminish the consumption of it, such an effect would be equally favorable to the agriculture, to the œconomy, to the morals, and to the health of the society. There is perhaps nothing so much a subject of national extravagance, as these spirits.

What will be the consequence, if we are not able to avail ourselves of the resource in question in its full extent? A nation cannot long exist without revenue. Destitute of this essential support, it must resign its independence and sink into the degraded condition of a province. This is an extremity to which no government will of choice accede. Revenue therefore must be had at all events. In this country, if the principal part be not drawn from commerce, it must fall with oppressive weight upon land. It has been already intimated, that excises in their true signification are too little in unison with the feelings of the people, to admit of great use being made of that mode of taxation, nor indeed, in the states where almost the sole employment is agriculture are the objects proper for excise sufficiently numerous to permit very ample collections in that way. Personal estate, (as has been before remarked) from the difficulty of tracing it, cannot be subjected to large contributions, by any other means, than by taxes on consumption. In populous cities, it may be enough the subject of conjecture, to occasion the oppression of individuals, without much aggregate benefit to the state; but beyond these circles it must in a great measure escape the eye and the hand of the tax gatherer. As the necessities of the state, nevertheless, must be satisfied, in some mode or other, the defect of other resources must throw the principal weight of the public burthens on the possessors of land. And as, on the other hand, the wants of the government can never obtain an adequate supply, unless all the sources of revenue are open to its demands, the finances of the community, under such embarrassments, cannot be put into a situation consistent with its respectability, or its security. Thus we shall not even have the consolations of a full treasury to attone for the oppression of that valuable class of the citizens, who are employed in the cultivation of the soil. But public and private distress will keep pace with each other in gloomy concert; and unite in deploring the infatuation of those councils, which led to disunion.

PUBLIUS.

* *If my memory be right, they amount to* 20 *per cent.*

Copy of a Letter from the Author of the CENTINEL to his Friend in ---------- County.

Dear Sir, *Philadelphia, January* 19, 1788.

I Received your letter by Mr. -----, and am sorry to find that your exertions in the county of ---------- have been attended with so little success. I expected, long before this, to have heard of a commotion begun. It is, indeed, high time that something vigorous should be attempted, otherwise the spirit of our cause will languish in our hands, and when once that spirit is flown, it will not be in our power to recall it. You know it was always our opinion, that the great gun should be charged here and fired in one of the western counties. I am sure I have not been remiss in my part of the business. Have I not already charged it with eleven cartridges well ramm'd down; and when I am every moment expecting the explosion, you only urge me to double my diligence, and ram away. In short, I am almost weary of this fruitless toil. I don't find that my publications have had the desired effect here; I hope they have been more successful in the counties----if so, you should have informed me, for I want encouragement more than a spur. Whilst I am issuing number after number of my Centinel, all written with a freedom and spirit sufficient, one would think, to rouse the people---I say, while I am doing this, the states, one after another, either unanimously or by large majorities, are ratifying the new constitution. You have heard, or will hear, that Connecticut has adopted it by a majority of 127 to 40 in their Convention. Besides this, I have the mortification to see my Centinels printed, and re-printed, but never replied to. Attempts to answer would afford fresh sources of argument. Can any thing be more provoking or discouraging? I have rung the changes upon---the liberty of the press---trial by jury---despotism and tyranny---and am reduced to the necessity of repeating in different words the same railings against the constitution, and the same abuse against the framers of it.---The novelty of this boldness is over, and my pieces are scarcely read. I am astonished, that such extraordinary exertions have had so little effect with the people. I have, directly and without reserve, called the members of the late General Convention, with G----e W---------n at their head, villains, traytors, fools, and conspirators, collectively and individually, and yet the mob does not rise. I have often told you, that it is of no great importance on which side an insurrection takes place: All that is necessary is, to have a commotion begun: A faction can always turn public confusion to its own account. I was in great hopes that the attack upon Major Boyd's house would have produced something; it was indeed serviceable to our party; but the flame was too weak to spread---the law interfered, and extinguished it entirely. A mob is not worth a farthing, unless, by its great numbers or the weight of its leaders, it can stoutly look law in the face, and bid defiance to its operations.

You tell me, that you have enlisted about 60 insurgents---but what can they do?-----600 in each of the counties would have been more to the purpose. Either you must have been very negligent, or your influence in the county is not as great as you gave us reason to believe. You say you have constantly attended at taverns, vendues, funerals, and other public meetings---liberally treated those whom you thought it would be of use to gain---dispersed my Centinels---and watched the most favorable opportunities for inflaming the minds of the people. This is all very well---but if the effect has been no more than the association of 60 insurgents, it is certainly very poor doings. If our friends have done no better in the other counties, and I have not yet heard that they have done any thing, our party had better tack about, and cry up the new constitution, that some of us may stand a chance at least for a share in the loaves and fishes. For if, notwithstanding our opposition, this new constitution should be established, we shall always be looked upon as disaffected to the government, and unfit to be trusted with offices under it.

Our champions in the other states begin to fall off. You have seen, I suppose, Gov. R-------'s letter----and I am told that R. H. L-- and M---- have dropped all opposition. Unless some extraordinary exertions are made, and speedily too, our whole scheme must fall to the ground. Only imagine what a ridiculous figure I make here. I am every week publishing things, which in any other country would bring the author to the gallows, as a seditious disturber of the public peace---and nothing comes of it. My performances, as I said before, do not even provoke a reply. Can any thing be more mortifying?--- In the mean time the new constitution is taking root in the other states. And it must be confessed, that in every instance where the people have been legally brought together, either in Conventions, or as Assemblymen, Grand Juries, or otherwise, they have uniformly declared themselves in favour of it. These are great obstacles to our views. We have affected the popular side of the question, and the voice of the people is decidedly against us. Patriotism, not supported by the body of citizens, is always denominated---Faction.

To conclude. Unless we can do something, speedily, towards raising a respectable commotion in the state, it is my opinion that we ought to prepare for joining the general current in favour of this new system of government. And this may be plausibly effected by declaring, that we never had any thing in view but the good of our country---that the new constitution appeared in our judgments to contain many things objectionable, and some even dangerous to the liberties of the people---but, as the general opinion seems to be otherwise, we resign our own prejudices to the will of the Majority, as every good citizen ought to do;----and since we find the new system of fœderal government is indeed likely to be established, we shall not be behind any in zealous exertions for its support.

Think of these things----and let me hear from you as soon as possible. In the mean time I am, dear Sir, Your's, &c.

CENTINEL.

NUMBER I.

To the MINORITY of the CONVENTION of *Pennsylvania*.

Gentlemen,

THE great question which at this time engages the attention of the United States calls for the fairest and most dispassionate discussion. Mistakes in taking up the subject must lead to erroneous conclusions, and men of pure intentions, both among yourselves and the people at large, should misconceptions have arisen, may continue averse to the system, after it has received the *fiat* of all the conventions. Well intended attempts to throw light upon the interesting subject cannot, therefore, be unpleasing to you. Without further introduction, then, I will proceed to a point of considerable importance in itself and in its consequences, on which I conceive your opinions have been erroneously formed, and on which I earnestly hope we shall finally concur.

The consolidation of the United States into one government by the operation of the proposed constitution (in contradistinction from a confederacy) appears to you to be the consequence of the system, and the intention of its framers. This is the point of difference which I mean to treat of, and for the present I shall confine my observations to it alone.

Were the the parts of the fœderal government which you have particularized as much of the nature of consolidation as you seem to suppose, real nature and design, and the state sovereignties, would indeed be finally annihilated. The appearances which have misled you I shall remark on in the course of these papers, and I shall endeavour to exhibit clear and permanent marks and lines of *separate sovereignty*, which must ever distinguish and circumscribe each of the several states, and *prevent their annihilation* by the fœderal government, or any of its operations.

When the people of America dissolved their connexion with the crown of Britain, they found themselves separated from all the world, but a few powerless colonies, the principal of which indeed they expected to induce into their measures. The crown having been merely a centre of *union*, the act of independence dissolved the political ties that had formerly existed among the states, and it was attended with no absolute confederacy; but many circumstances conspired to render some new form of connexion desirable and necessary. We wished not to continue distinct bodies of people, but to form a respectable nation. The remains of our ancient governments kept us in the form of thirteen political bodies, and from a variety of just and prudent considerations, we determined to enter into an indissoluble and perpetual *union*. Though a confederacy of sovereign states was the mode of connexion which was wisely desired and actually adopted, yet in that feeble and inadequate bond of union to which we assented, articles strongly partaking of the nature of consolidation are observable.

We see, for example, that the free inhabitants of each state were rendered, to all intents and purposes, *free citizens of all the rest*. Persons fleeing from justice in one state were to be *delivered up* by any other in which they might take *refuge*, contrary to the laws prevailing among *distinct* sovereignties, whereby the jurisdiction of one state pervaded the territories of all the rest, to the effectual length of trial, condemnation and punishment. The right to judge of *the sums that should be expended for the use of the nation* lies, even under the old confederation, *solely* with Congress, and after the demand is fixed by them, and formally made, the states are *bound*, as far as they can be bound by any compact, to pay their respective quotas into the fœderal treasury, by which the power of the purse is fully given to them; nor can the states *constitutionally* refuse to comply. It is very certain that there is not in the present fœderal government vigor enough to carry *this actually delegated* power into execution; yet, if Congress had possessed energy sufficient to have done it, there is no doubt but they would have been justifiable in the measure, though the season of invasion was unfavorable for internal contests.

We shall also find, that *the right to raise armies and build navies* is also vested in Congress by the present confederation, and they are to be the sole judges of the occasion, and the force required. The state, therefore, that refuses to fulfil the requisitions of Congress on either of these articles, acts *unconstitutionally*. It appears, then, that it was thought necessary at the time of forming the old fœderal constitution, that Congress should have what is termed "*the powers of the purse and the sword.*" That constitution contained a delegation of them, because the framers of it saw that those powers were necessary to *the perpetuity and efficiency* of the union, and to obtain the desirable ends of it. It is certainly very true, that the means provided to enable Congress to apply those powers, which the constitution vested in them, were so liable to opposition, interruption and delay, that the clauses containing them became a mere dead letter. This however was

not expected or desired by any of the states at the time, and their subsequent defaults are *infringements* of the letter and spirit of the confederation. On these circumstances I entreat your most dispassionate and candid consideration. I beg leave to remark, however, that as in the present constitution they are only *appearances* of consolidation, irrefragably contradicted by other facts and circumstances, so also are the facts and observations in your address *merely appearances* of a consolidation, which I hope to demonstrate does not exist. The matter will be better understood by proceeding to those points which shew, that, as under the old so under the new fœderal constitution, the thirteen United States were *not intended* to be, and really *are not consolidated*, in such manner as to *absorb or destroy* the sovereignties of the several states. In order to a perfect understanding of each other, it may be proper to observe here, that by your term *consolidation* I understand you mean *the final annihilation of separate state government or sovereignty, by the nature and operations of the proposed constitution.* Among the proofs you adduce of such consolidation being the *intention* of the late convention, is the expression of---" We the People."---Tho' this is a mere form of words, it will be well to see what expressions are to be found in the constitution in opposition to this, and indicative of the intentions of the convention, before we consider those things, which, as I conceive, secure the states from a possibility of losing their respective sovereignties.

First, then, tho' the convention propose that it should be the act of the people, yet it is in their capacities as citizens of *the several members of our confederacy*---for they are expressly declared to be the people of *the United States*"---to which idea the expression is *strictly* confined, and the *general* term of *America*, which is constantly used in speaking of us *as a nation*, is carefully omitted: a pointed view was evidently had to our *existing union*. But we must see at once, that the reason of "*the People*" being mentioned was, that alterations of several constitutions were to be effected, which the convention well knew could be done by no authority but that of "*the people*," either determining themselves *in their several states*, or delegating adequate powers to their *state conventions*. Had the fœderal convention meant to exclude the idea of "*union*," that is, of *several and separate* sovereignties joining in a confederacy, they would have said, we *the people of America*; for union necessarily involves the idea of component states, which complete consolidations exclude. But the severalty of the states is frequently recognized in the most distinct manner in the course of the constitution. The representatives are to be inhabitants of *the state* they represent---each *state* is to have a representative---the militia officers are to be appointed by the *several states*---and many other instances will be found in reading the constitution. These, however, are all mere expressions, and I should not have introduced them, but to overbalance the words you have mentioned by a superior weight of the same kind. Let us, then, proceed to evidences against consolidation, of more force than the mere form of words.

It will be found, on a careful examination, that many things, which are indispensibly necessary to the existence and good order of society, cannot be performed by the fœderal government, but will require *the agency and powers* of the state legislatures or sovereignties, with their various appurtenances and appendages.

1st. Congress, under all the powers of the proposed constitution, can neither train the militia, nor appoint the officers thereof.

2dly. They cannot fix the qualifications of electors of representatives, or of the electors of the electors of the President or Vice-President.

3dly. In case of a vacancy in the senate or the house of representatives, they cannot issue a writ for a new election, nor take any of the measures necessary to obtain one.

4thly. They cannot appoint a judge, constitute a court, or in any other way interfere in determining offences against the criminal law of the states, nor can they in any way interfere in the determinations of civil causes between citizens of the same state, which will be innumerable and highly important.

5thly. They cannot elect a President, a Vice-President, a Senator, or a fœderal representative, without all of which their own government must remain *suspended*, and universal *Anarchy must ensue.*

6thly. They cannot determine the place of chusing senators, because that would be derogatory to *the sovereignty* of the state legislatures, who are to elect them.

7thly. They cannot enact laws for the inspection of the produce of the country, a matter of the utmost importance to the commerce of the *several* states, and the honor of *the whole.*

8thly. They cannot appoint or commission *any state officer*, legislative, executive or judicial.

9thly. They cannot interfere with the opening of rivers and canals; the making or regulation of roads, except post roads; building bridges; erecting ferries; establishment of state seminaries of learning; libraries; literary, religious, trading or manufacturing societies; erecting or regulating the police of cities, towns or boroughs; creating new state offices; building light houses, public wharves, county goals, markets, or other public buildings; making sale of state lands, and other state property; receiving or appropriating the incomes of state buildings and property; executing the state laws; altering the criminal law; nor can they do any other matter or thing appertaining to the internal affairs of any state, whether legislative, executive or judicial, civil or ecclesiastical.

10thly. They cannot interfere with, alter or amend the constitution of any state, which, it is admitted, now is, and, from time to time, will be more or less necessary in most of them.

The proper investigation of this subject will require more of your time than I can take the liberty of engaging at present. I shall therefore leave what I have now written to your honest and cool reflection.

A FREEMAN.

Messrs. HALL & SELLERS,

IN the list of the signers of the protest of the minority of the Convention against the fœderal constitution, we find SIX---- (and THREE of them the only speakers against it in the Convention) whose names are upon record as the friends of *paper money*, and the advocates for the late unjust *test-law* of Pennsylvania, which for near *ten* years excluded the *Quakers, Menonists, Moravians*, and several other sects scrupulous against war, from a representation in our government.

In the minutes of the second session of the Ninth General Assembly of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, we find in the 212th page the following persons among the YEAS, who voted for the emission of paper money, which has, by its depreciation, so much injured the trade and manufactures of the state, and which, by impairing its funds, has weakened the strength of our government, and thereby destroyed the hopes and support of the public creditors. The persons are, *William Findley, John Smilie, Robert Whitehill, Adam Orth, Nicholas Lutz, Abraham Lincoln.*

In the 302d page of the same book, we find a report, declaring the Quakers, Moravians, &c. who, from conscientious scruples, declined taking part in the war, to be "enemies to liberty and the rights of mankind---British subjects, aliens and cowards---who had no share in the declaration of independence, in the formation of our constitution, or in establishing them by ARMS;" which report is agreed to, as appears in the list of the YEAS, by the same *William Findley, John Smilie, Robert Whitehill, Adam Orth, Nicholas Lutz, Abraham Lincoln.*

These men certainly are not in earnest, when they talk and write of *liberty*, and of the sacred rights of *conscience.* Their conduct contradicts all their speeches and publications; and if they were truly sensible of their folly and wickedness in opposing the new government, instead of trying to excite a civil war (in which they will bear no more part than they did in the late war with Great-Britain) they ought rather to acknowledge, with gratitude, the lenity of their fellow-citizens, in permitting them to live among us with impunity, after thus transgressing and violating the great principles of liberty, government and conscience.

In the Centinel, No. XI. we are told that General Washington (under God the deliverer of our country) is a poor creature, with many *constitutional* infirmities; and that he has, from ambitious motives, united with the *conspirators* of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey and Connecticut, to enslave his country.---Can human nature sink so low as to be guilty of such base ingratitude to a man to whom America owes her independence and liberties? or will the more grateful sons of America suffer the author of such a declaration to continue to insult their opinions and feelings? There was a time, when the liberties of our country were at the mercy of this great and good man---There was a time when a defrauded and clamorous army, devoted to his will, and a Congress without power or credit, would have rendered it an easy matter for him to have established a monarchy in the United States. But how nobly did he behave in this alarming crisis of our affairs. He composed the turbulent and punished the mutinous spirit of the army. He strengthened by his influence the hands of Congress, and finally bequeathed, as his last legacy to his country, his parting advice, to form such a union as would for ever perpetuate her liberties.

In the same Centinel we are told, that *anarchy* and a *civil war* are less evils than the despotism (as he calls it) of the new government. It would be an affront to the understandings of my readers to controvert these two opinions---I shall only ask the author of them, whether he will risk himself, at the head of a company of his Carlisle *white* boys, in case he should succeed in his beloved scheme of exciting a civil war, or whether he would not rather shelter himself under a safe office, as he did during the late war, until the bloody storm was over?

The people of Pennsylvania have been so often told of *an appeal to arms*, when power and office (not liberty) were in danger, by the leaders of the old constitutional junto, that they now regard the threat no more than the scolding of the apple women in Market-street, when they are disturbed by the country people on a market day. They remember how much these men boasted, and how little they did, during the late war. They know full well---that not only wealth, but that numbers---virtue, courage and military skill, are all on the fœderal side of the question in Pennsylvania. They know, that the brave and tired militia of Delaware and Jersey will not be neutral spectators of a contest in Pennsylvania, which involves in it the safety of a government, which they have unanimously and joyfully adopted. They, therefore, pity the poor madmen who sport these threats, and anticipate no other consequence from their being carried further, than the certain ruin of two or three seditious individuals in the city of Philadelphia.

In a republic, the majority should certainly govern. Now a majority have decided in favour of the new constitution. The opposition to it after this, by a minority, is not only an attempt to establish an aristocracy, or a government of a *few* over the *many*, but it is downright rebellion.

But we are told, this majority have adopted a system of despotism. This is false;----for the new government is the best bulwark of freedom that ever was framed in the world. But I will suppose this was not the case, and that the new constitution was as bad as it is said to be. What then?----The minority are still bound to submit to it; for it is the choice of the *majority*, and they cannot be *free*, unless it be adopted. If it is rejected, then the majority, who are deprived of what they love and *prefer*, yield to the minority, which is contrary to every principle of democracy.

I wish the public creditors to look to themselves. The funding system of Pennsylvania is on its last legs. It cannot exist another year, without convulsing our state. All the distress, oppression, speculation, idleness, peculation in government,----and bankruptcies, not of merchants only, but of *tradesmen* and *farmers* (a thing unheard of before, and unknown in other countries) are owing to the funding law. Pennsylvania has assumed a million and an half of dollars in certificates, above her quota of the public debt. It is only by adopting the fœderal government that this enormous, unequal and oppressive burthen can be taken off our shoulders, and the state rescued out of the hands of speculators, sharpers and public defaulters. It is, moreover, only from a fœderal treasury that the public creditors, of all descriptions, can expect substantial and permanent justice.

A CITIZEN OF PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, January 23.

By advices of the 9th day of January instant, the honorable the CONVENTION of the State of CONNECTICUT have adopted the proposed FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. There were one hundred and twenty-seven votes in favor of it, and forty against it.

Extract of a letter from New-York, January 18.

A French frigate of 40 guns is at the Hook; from whence, and her name, we are not informed.

"Last Thursday, January 9th, the Convention of the state of Massachusetts assembled at the State-house in Boston, and proceeded to the choice of a President, when his Excellency *John Hancock*, Esq; was chosen. The Hon. *William Cushing*, Esq; was elected Vice-President, and *George Richards Minot*, Esq; Secretary."

The gentlemen of the late fœderal Convention, says a correspondent, who dissented from the Majority, ought to have acted a little more in concert, both for their own reputation's sake and for the good of their country, if they really thought, at the time, of the reasons of dissent which they have given to the people of America. The truth, he supposes, is, that their several sentiments were so discordant, that they could not unite in any number of amendments. They appear to be so *dissentient* a set of *dissenters*, that they must continue to *dissent* from each other, as long as any *dissention* remains among the *dissenting* sons of men.

A correspondent observes, that the honorable Mr. Yeates and Mr. Lansing, of New-York, appear to have thought very little of any of the various and opposite objections of their colleagues in the late fœderal Convention, except one.---They express no apprehensions about the footing on which the state and federal Constitutions have placed the liberty of the press and of conscience, the military, and the several other matters, the supposed dangers of which have been much insisted on by the other gentlemen. *Consolidation* seems to be their only fear.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Newport, Rhode-Island, dated 29th Dec. 1787, to his correspondent in this city.

"I thank you for all the good news, and the news-papers with the Debates in your Convention, which are truly worth reading. You have had a fair opportunity to discover that two or three artful designing men may do a world of Mischief----Instance a few in Rhode-Island----old C——— and L——— in New-York---- and a few such in every state. Delaware and Jersey are high on the list---Connecticut will have a very great majority---Boston near three to one---and New-Hampshire clear---and that will be the case in North and South-Carolina. *We* that have taken an active part in the late war must again step forward, and do double duty, till we secure a good government. I speak for myself, and am ready. The virtuous Minority in this state feel happy in being thought of by the worthy citizens of Philadelphia, and I know they deserve their notice, for never did men stand their ground equal to a few in this state---and I hope the time is nigh, when the wicked must flee to the dens and clifts of the rocks."

By a gentleman lately arrived from the western country, whose information is much to be depended on, we learn, that from the most *perfect* computation that can be formed there, not less than from eighteen to twenty thousand emigrants have arrived in Kentucky, within the last nine months, by the different routs of the Ohio, Wilderness, &c.---One fact, perfectly well ascertained, strongly corroborates the above computation, that on the 24th of November, there passed Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, one thousand two hundred and ninety-six souls, according to the accounts taken by the boats of the garrison, the commander of which uses great pains and accuracy in informing himself of the numbers that pass.

General Harmar, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, has returned from Post Vincennes on the Wabash, to Muskingum, leaving two companies at the former place.---[*Maryland Gazette.*]

Extract of a letter from Dover, January 1, 1788.

"Last Wednesday, between 11 and 12 o'clock of the day, the dwelling-house and other buildings belonging to Mrs. Hasleton, of this county, relict of Capt. William Hasleton, formerly a very respectable sea Captain of the city of Philadelphia, and all her household furniture (which was very elegant) all the wearing apparel of the family, provisions, and last year's crop of grain, were consumed by fire. The family, besides the old lady, who has been long confined to her bed, by old age and bodily infirmity, consists of a son and two daughters, all unmarried, and from great affluence, are now, by this fatal incident, reduced to the greatest distress."

AN EPIGRAM.

SAYS Frank to his brother---so *Jack* Anti-fœd'ral
On paper has prov'd himself---*An Invalid General:*
If Sampson of old slew his thousands with the jaw of an ass,
Much stranger things have of late come to pass---
For a writer, whose name is oppos'd to all ill,
Has slain *Nic* himself with the stump of a quill.

*** *The piece signed* AN OLD WOMAN, *is omitted this week for want of room.*

TO BE LET,

And may be entered upon the 1st of April next,

A VERY valuable and well situated MERCHANT-MILL, in Upper Dublin township, Montgomery county, and state of Pennsylvania, near Germantown great road, and about 15 miles from Philadelphia. The said mill is on a never failing stream of water, generally known by the name of Wissahickon creek, is very conveniently built, and in exceeding good repair, has two pair of stones, one of which are burs, lately fitted up in the best order for merchandising; together with a wind-mill, and new boulting cloths of the first quality. Said mill is conveniently situated to an exceeding good run of wheat, together with a vast run of country business. Also a valuable FARM adjoining the same, containing 125 acres of land, about 40 acres of which is good meadow ground, and a great part of the rest good arable land, all well watered; whereon is a good two story stone dwelling house and a large kitchen adjoining the same, a well of good water, a good bearing orchard, barn, stable and other out houses, conveniently situated for carrying on the business of the same. The whole will be let together, or separate. Any person or persons inclining to rent or treat about the same, may be informed, by applying to the subscriber near the premises.

Jan. 14, 1788. † JACOB REIFF, jun.

To be SOLD at private Sale,

A LARGE commodious HOUSE, situate in Darby, next door to the Ship Tavern towards Philadelphia, very convenient for a large family, a good stand for a store, or for a tradesman that works in the house; there are four good rooms on each of the two first floors, and two ditto in the garret, all of them cieled, with a good cellar under it, also a pump at the kitchen door. The lot it stands on is 50 feet wide and about 400 deep, with a barn and a number of fruit trees.

Also to be sold, another adjoining it, with two rooms on a floor, and a good cellar. The lot is 50 feet front and 400 in depth, with a stable on it, and a variety of fruit trees. Any person inclining to purchase, may know the terms by applying to JESSE SHARPLESS, at the corner of Chestnut and Third-streets, Philadelphia. If not sold, it will be to be rented, and may be entered on the 1st day of April next. The terms will be made easy to the purchaser. §

Philadelphia, January 17, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias to me directed, will be exposed to Sale by public vendue, at the house of William Lesher, in Germantown, on Saturday, the 2d day of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain two story stone messuage, two story stone shop and two lots of ground (lying contiguous to and along side of each other) thereunto belonging, situate and being in Germantown, in the county of Philadelphia, on the south west side of the main street thereof, each lot being 30 feet front on the said main street, and 217 feet in length or depth from said main street south-westward; bounded north-eastward by the said main street, south-eastward by a lot in the tenure of Henry Earnst, south-westward by a lot now or late Edward Shippen's, and north-westward by a lot now in the possession of Joseph Shippen. Taken in execution as late the estate of John David Seifertheldt, deceased, and Barbara his widow, and to be sold, by JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

Doctor HILL's *American Balsam,*

IS to be sold in Philadelphia, by Mr. William Poyntell, at his store, the corner of Black Horse alley, in Second-street, also by Mr. George Reinholt, in Market-street, the second door above Fifth-street; by Mr. Steiner, at the German printing office, in Race-street; at Germantown, by Mr. Justus Fox; at Lancaster, by Ludwick Lawman, Esq; at New-York, by Hugh Gaine; and by the subscriber, at her place in Blockley, price six shillings and six-pence a bottle, and by the dozen six shillings a bottle.

This Balsam is now upwards of 20 years so well known in America that it is a most effectual and infallible medicine for colds, coughs and asthmas; it gives great relief in the most painful rheumatism, in cholics, gravel and consumption; it is a most excellent cure in the whooping cough, and in most all the disorders and sicknesses of children, and for many other diseases, as may be seen in the printed direction in English and German on each bottle. In old diseases of long standing, it will be necessary to continue the use of this healing balsam for a reasonable time, by more than one single bottle, and then they may expect relief from this, as thousands of people can testify who have tried other things without success; there are indeed several balsams and preparations of medicine, which gives sometimes present relief for a short time in many disorders, but soon after returns more furious than before, but this American balsam performed perfect and effectual cures; its fame is spread most every where, it is almost inconceivable to hear what surprising cures this balsam has performed with people who have tried and experienced its wonderful effects: Each bottle is sealed up with the representation of a certain plant in a heart, and if any balsam under this name should be sold in any other place not mentioned in my advertisements, the public may be assured it is not Dr. Hill's balsam, but counterfeit, because no other person is able to prepare the genuine balsam, for want of the principal ingredients of which Dr. Hill's American balsam is composed.

Since the former proprietors are deceased, both William Young, junior and senior, therefore the present is a sister to William Young, jun. botanist. ¶ CHRISTIANA LEECH.

THE ACTING COMMITTEE of the Society for alleviating the Miſeries of Public Priſons, viſiting agreeable to their appointment, the Goal and Work-houſe of this city, have frequently wiſhed that the funds of their inſtitution would allow them to ſupply the *unhappy beings*, there confined, with ſuitable cloathing during this inclement ſeaſon; but as this is altogether out of their power, they find themſelves under the neceſſity of calling on their fellow citizens to afford all poſſible relief in this particular.---Any old blankets, ſhoes, ſtockings, mens and womens apparel, will be highly acceptable: ſuch articles looked up, and forwarded to Mrs. *Richards*, at the Work-houſe, will be duly adminiſtered to the *wretched* and *ſuffering* priſoners. The Committee mean not to enlarge; they flatter themſelves the inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, will, readily, out of their abundance, ſpare a little to *cloath* the *naked*, as they have already contributed toward *feeding* the *hungry*: and thus ſhall the bleſſing of *many*, *ready to periſh*, alight on the heads of their *humane* and *generous Benefactors*.

William Rogers,
John Morriſon,
Benjamin Thaw,
John Kaighn,
Francis Bailey,
Jeremiah Fiſher.
} Acting Committee.

Philadelphia, Jan. 12, 1788.

WHITE and PATTON, Merchants of this city, late Copartners in Trade, having aſſigned to us, the ſubſcribers, all the eſtate, rights, credits and effects of ſaid copartnerſhip, and impowered us to demand and receive payment of and from all perſons indebted to the copartnerſhip aforeſaid. The debtors are hereby notified, that unleſs they reſpectively do pay or ſecure the payment in three months from the date hereof, they will be proceeded againſt according to law, without reſpect to perſons.

ABEL JAMES,)
Jan. 11, 1788. STEPHEN COLLINS,) Aſſignees.

TO THE PUBLIC.

BY virtue of the authority veſted in us, the ſubſcribers, as Auditors appointed by the court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia county, in a certain domeſtic attachment therein pending, wherein Jacob Benner the elder and Jacob Benner the younger, executors of George Benner, deceaſed, are plaintiffs, againſt Edward M'Keggan, defendant, there will be Sold at public Vendue, at the Old Coffee-Houſe, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wedneſday, the 13th day of February next, at ſix o'clock in the evening, for the benefit of the ſaid Edward M'Keggan's creditors, a certain two ſtory BRICK HOUSE, with the LOT of GROUND whereon the ſame is erected, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of Third-ſtreet from Delaware, in the ſaid city, at the diſtance of 48 feet to the northward of Union-ſtreet, containing in front on Third-ſtreet 16 feet, and in length or depth 56 feet 6 inches, with the privilege of an alley, of three and an half feet in width leading from Union-ſtreet.

The purchaſe money of the Ground on which the houſe ſtands, amounting to £ 175, with intereſt thereon from the 19th of March 1782, have not yet been paid, but the owner of the ground will deliver the deed, as ſoon as his demand is diſcharged.

The Houſe is convenient, has a genteel appearance, and its ſituation pleaſant and agreeable. Attendance will be given by the ſubſcribers,

JOHN BROWNE,
JAMES ASH,
THOMAS BRITTON.

Philadelphia county,
Jan. 9, 1788.

Newtown, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to ſale, on Wedneſday, the 30th inſtant, on the premiſes, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage, Plantation and Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead townſhip; bounded by lands of Thomas Lewis, Frederick Cook, and others, and containing about 80 acres; taken in execution as the property of David Adams, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks County, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Thurſday, the 31ſt inſt. at the houſe of George Piper, inn-keeper, in Bedminſter townſhip, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage and Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead townſhip, containing about 118 acres; bounded by land of Adam Finſman, land late of Joſiah Ferguſon, and others; late the property of John Foreman; taken in execution, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Tueſday, the 5th of February next, at the houſe of Paul Samſel, inn-keeper, in Milford townſhip, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage and Tract of Land, ſituate in Milford aforeſaid, containing about 45 acres, be the ſame more or leſs; taken in execution as the property of Betty Thomas, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at the houſe of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick townſhip, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage and Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead townſhip, containing about 17 acres and 115 perches, bounded by lands of Matthew Day, Edward Good, Chriſtian Overholtz, and others; taken in execution as the property of Jacob Glauſe, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, at the houſe of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick townſhip, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Plantation or Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead townſhip, containing about 90 acres, be the ſame more or leſs; bounded by lands of John Dyer, Thomas Dyer, Thomas Wright, and others; late the property of Joſiah Dyer, deceaſed; taken in execution, and to be ſold by ¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Monday, the 11th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the Court-houſe in Newtown, Two Lots of Land in Newtown aforeſaid, containing in the whole about ſix acres; the ſoil is of the beſt quality, and ſeveral dwelling-houſes are erected on the lots, one of which is occupied as an Inn, and is well ſituated for the ſame; there are alſo barns, ſtables and other neceſſary out-buildings, ſo as to render them very valuable and convenient; all late the property of Deborah Sedons, deceaſed, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

FOUR PENCE Reward.

RAN away from the ſubſcriber, living in Southampton townſhip, Bucks county, on the 21ſt day of December laſt, an indented ſervant man, named William Hopper, near 21 years of age, has four months and eleven days to ſerve, black hair and black eyes, about 5 feet 8 inches high, well made; had on when he went away, a grey coloured upper jacket, a ſwanſkin under ditto, old leather breeches, old ſhoes, with odd buckles, a caſtor hat. Whoever takes up the ſaid ſervant, and brings him home to his maſter, ſhall be paid the above reward, and their labour or their pains, by § LEONARD KROESEN.

Ridley townſhip, Cheſter county, Dec. 20, 1787.

TAKEN treſpaſſing on the ſubſcrber's incloſure, two MARES, ſuppoſed to be about three years old, near 14 hands high; the one a ſorrel, has no perceivable mark; the other a black, with a ſtar in her forehead. The owner or owners, proving property and paying charges, may have them again, by applying to † JOHN NOBLIT.

CAME to the plantation of the ſubſcriber, living in Tredyffrin townſhip, Cheſter county, Pennſylvania, about the beginning of December laſt, a ſmall ſorrel MARE, ſuppoſed to be ten or eleven years old, neither brand nor ear mark perceived. The owner is deſired to come, prove property, pay charges and take her away. § RICHARD MILES.

January 9, 1788.

Goſhen, Cheſter county, Dec. 28, 1787.

BY virtue of a Precept, from under the hands and ſeals of the truſtees of the general loan-office of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania, to me directed, will be expoſed to public Sale, on the premiſes, on Tueſday, the 29th day of January next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a meſſuage, plantation and tract of land, ſituate in the townſhip of Weſt-Nantmill, containing 250 acres, more or leſs, bounded by lands of Robert Green, John Taylor and others; ſaid tract of land to be ſold at the ſuit of the commonwealth, as the eſtate late of James Starrett, by

† EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Goſhen, Cheſter county, Dec. 28, 1787.

BY virtue of a Precept, from under the hands and ſeals of the truſtees of the general loan-office of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania, to me directed, will be expoſed to public Sale, on the premiſes, on Wedneſday, the 30th day of January next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a certain tract or parcel of land, ſituate in the townſhip of Newlin, containing 100 acres, more or leſs, bounded by lands of John Bentley, Jeſſe Taylor and others; ſaid tract of land to be ſold at the ſuit of the commonwealth, as the eſtate late of Nathaniel Jefferies, by

† EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Cheſter county, December 26, 1787.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, and ſundry writs of Fieri Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on the premiſes, at the houſe of the Widow Keyſer, in Upper Chichester townſhip, on Thurſday, the 31ſt day of January next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, A meſſuage and two tracts of land, one containing 90 acres, and the other 11 acres and an half, bounded by lands of Mary Norris, Henry Hale Graham, Eſq; Jacob Richards and Robert Robinſon, lying within two miles of Cheſter, and three from Marcus-Hook; and at the ſame time and place will be ſold, horſes, cows, ſheep and ſwine, a waggon and geers, plough and harrow, &c. &c. the whole taken in execution as the eſtates real and perſonal of William Keyſer, deceaſed, and to be ſold, by ¶ EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Cheſter county, December 26, 1787.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 2d day of February next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at Joſeph Gibbon's tavern, in Springfield townſhip, in the ſaid county, A certain ſtone meſſuage or tenement, plantation and tract of land thereunto belonging, ſituate in Springfield aforeſaid, containing 111 acres and three quarters, bounded by Crum creek, and by lands of James Crozer, John Crozer, Job Dicks, Joſeph Gibbon, &c. on which premiſes is a good ſtone ſpring-houſe, over a never-failing ſpring of water, and ſundry other buildings; this plantation is conveniently ſituated for a ſtore, or any kind of public buſineſs, as it lies at the junction of three very public roads; late the eſtate of Jane Tennant, deceaſed; ſeized and taken in execution, by

† EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

By virtue of an Order from the Orphan's Court of Berks county, will be expoſed to ſale, at public vendue, on the 26th day of January 1788, on the premiſes,

A CERTAIN Tract of Land, ſituate in Exeter townſhip, in ſaid county, adjoining land of Samuel Lee, Richard Tee, and others, containing about 50 acres, whereon is an excellent Stone Griſt-mill, conveniently ſituated and built, either for merchant or country work, on a never failing ſtream. There is in ſaid mill two pair of ſtones, one of which is excellent burrs; there is alſo on ſaid premiſes an elegant ſtone dwelling-houſe, with other commodious ſtone buildings; late the eſtate of Judah Boone, deceaſed. Four hundred pounds of the purchaſe money to be paid within one week from the day of ſale. The ſale to begin at one o'clock, where due attendance will be given, by

THOMAS CHERINGTON,)
¶ THOMAS LEE,) Adminiſtrators.

To be Let, and entered on the firſt of March next,

A HOUSE and Tan-yard, a few miles from this city, on a public road, advantageous for getting ſkins and hides in any quantity. Said place is beautifully ſituated and in good repair, and calculated to carry on the tanning buſineſs to advantage. A part of the premiſes was formerly occupied as a ſtore to great advantage, and would ſuit a perſon in that branch of buſineſs. For further particulars, enquire of the Printers. ¶

Was found November 9, 1787, on the Egypt Road,

A Lady's TIPPET.

Whoever has loſt the ſame, by applying to the Printers, and paying the expence of this advertiſement, may have it again.

STOLEN in the night between the 13th and 14th of December laſt, out of the ſtable of the ſubſcriber, living in Upper-Milford townſhip, Northampton county, about half a mile from George Clein's tavern, a brown MARE, 14 or 15 years old, about 14 hands high, has neither brand nor ear-mark, ſhod all round immediately before ſhe was ſtolen, has a very ſtrong mane, trots and paces, carries her head very low, and is with fold; was alſo ſtolen on the ſame night, a good ſaddle and curb bridle. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid Mare, ſaddle and bridle, ſo as the owner may have them again, ſhall have THIRTY SHILLINGS, and reaſonable charges, and THIRTY SHILLINGS more for the thief, if ſecured, brought to juſtice, and convicted of the theft, paid by ¶

Jan. 1, 1788. ABRAHAM KRIEBEL.

TO BE SOLD,
Or Let on Improving Leaſes,

A BODY of very valuable Farming LANDS in Northampton county, Pennſylvania, 5 or 6 miles from the New-York line, beginning on the head waters of Shohocking creek, about four miles from the river Delaware, and extending ſouth-weſterly about three miles, when the courſe of the lands turns from the ſouth, and runs nearly due weſt. The northernmoſt waters of the Equinunk touch two of the ſouthernmoſt lots. There is an ample quantity of graſs and meadow ground to each tract, and they are well timbered with beech, ſugar maple, birch, aſh, &c. The quality of theſe lands is in many inſtances very fine, and they will all make very good farms. Their produce will in a ſhort time be got to market on eaſy terms, from the improvement of the navigation of the Delaware, and of the Suſquehannah, a ſtream of which riſes in the weſtern part of the tracts, and runs northerly into that river at the Great Bend. The diſtance from Eaſton is about 30 miles. They have the advantage of moſt of the unimproved lands now offering for ſale or leaſe, in being very near to thick ſettlements that lie eaſtward and ſouthward of them, and in having the ſettlements on the Suſquehannah in New-York and Pennſylvania, with that river itſelf, to defend them from the Indians, if any diſturbances ſhould take place. The twenty-three townſhips granted lately by New-York to Maſſachuſetts lie on the north-weſt, and run nearly weſt of them to a great diſtance. As there is every reaſon to expect thoſe townſhips will have ſeveral hundred families on them in the courſe of 1788, they will form a frontier for the lands now offered. For terms, apply to CHARLES COXE, Eſq; Kingwood, Hunterdon county New-Jerſey, GEORGE PALMER, Eſq; Moore townſhip, Northampton county, Captain WILLIAM CRAIG, Eaſton (who have actual ſurveys of the lands,) or in Philadelphia, to CLIM TENCH COXE,

Cheſtnut-ſtreet, Jan. 9, 1788. N. FRAZIER.

This Day is publiſhed,
BY M. CAREY,
IN MARKET STREET,
The *American Muſeum,*
FOR DECEMBER, 1787.

Being the ſixth and laſt number of the ſecond volume; containing a General Title---an Index---and a Chronicle, or Summary of the moſt remarkable Events of the months of July, Auguſt, September, October, November, and December.

THE PRINTER begs leave, once more, to remind thoſe of his ſubſcribers who have not yet paid their firſt or ſecond half year's ſubſcription, that the very great expence of the MUSEUM renders a punctual compliance with that part of the terms which relates to the time of payment indiſpenſibly neceſſary to carry on the work. They may reſt aſſured that their non-performance has in this reſpect already more than once rendered its continuance problematical----nor has the danger been eſcaped without the utmoſt difficulty. Were the work dear, or were it uſeleſs, perhaps ſome plea might be ſuggeſted for inattention---But as it ſtands confeſſed one of the cheapeſt periodical publications extant---and as its utility is univerſally admitted, it might be expected that a punctual and exact payment would enable the proprietor to conduct it in the extenſive and ſatisfactory manner he propoſed, inſtead of involving him in unworthy difficulties.

He here begs leave to make a ſhort extract from the preface to the July Muſeum :----

"After a careful examination of the various ſhoals on which "periodical publications have been wrecked, in this and other "countries, I am in dread of only one, which I am almoſt "aſhamed to intimate---but which, juſtice to myſelf, as well as "a ſincere deſire, by inſuring ſtability to this work, to be as far "ſerviceable to the community, of which I have the honor to be "a member, as my feeble talents and my ſituation will admit, "forbid me to paſs over in ſilence. This ſhoal, the danger of "which I deprecate, is the want of a due punctuality in paying "the ſubſcriptions. Theſe being ſmall, each individual is but "too apt to ſuppoſe it a matter of great indifference whether he "pays *his* quota at the time appointed, or in ſix or twelve months "afterwards. This is a great miſtake: For let it be obſerved, "that the aggregate of theſe ſums (however trivial and inſignificant each may be, taken ſeparately) is the only fund for defraying the great and inevitable expences of the undertaking. "Theſe cannot be deferred. They are all payable in ready money: and it would but ill ſaitsfy the paper-maker and journeyman printer, &c. &c. to tell them, when money was due to "them, that I could not pay it;---that I *expected* money from "my ſubſcribers in two, three, or four months;---and that I "ſhould *then* pay them. If I told them ſuch a Canterbury tale, "I need not *expect* any more of their ſervices. It is, further, to "be obſerved, that the expence of ſending twice, thrice, or, as "is often the caſe, four times for the amount of a ſubſcription, "bears no ſmall proportion to the ſum received. After this explanation, it muſt be unneceſſary to requeſt of thoſe ſubſcribers, "who wiſh ſucceſs to the Muſeum, or deſire its proprietor may "receive the reward of his earneſt endeavours to gratify them, "that they will, at the completion of each volume, renew their "ſubſcription for the ſucceeding one. Thoſe gentlemen, who, "agreeably to the original plan, have already done this, are entitled to my thanks."

Thoſe gentlemen, who have taken ſubſcription papers, are requeſted to forward them to the printing-office before the 13th of January, 1788, as the liſt of ſubſcribers, intended to be prefixed to the third volume, will be put to preſs about that time.

†§† The ſubſcription is 18s. per annum---One half of which is to be paid at the time of ſubſcribing, and the ſame ſum at the commencement of every ſucceeding volume.

*** Seaſonable country produce will be received in payment.

Philadelphia, January 1, 1788.

TO BE SOLD,

BETWEEN fifteen and ſixteen hundred acres of land, being on the ſouth ſide of Great Gunpowder river, in Baltimore county, Maryland. It extends upwards of two miles on the ſaid river, and joins on the lands of Charles Ridgely. About half the tract is cleared, the land is of excellent quality, is about 12 miles from the town of Baltimore, and two north of the road leading from ſaid town to York, in Pennſylvania. It will be ſold either together or in different lots, to ſuit the purchaſer. Fifteen per cent. muſt be paid at the purchaſe, the remainder may be paid by inſtallments of three or four years, on giving proper ſecurity, with intereſt. Thoſe inclining to purchaſe may apply to JOHN NICHOLSON, Merchant, in Baltimore, and the tenants on the land will ſhew the ſame.

There is alſo adjoining the above tract an undivided half of a mill ſeat, which will be diſpoſed of either ſeparately or with any part of the above land. It is ſuppoſed equal to any mill ſeat on the continent, there being ſituations for four or five mills, eaſily ſupplied with water from the river. †

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by HALL and SELLERS, at the NEW-PRINTING OFFICE, near the MARKET.